

The Heroic Age of Phrygia in Ancient Literature and Art

Author(s): Peter Carrington

Source: *Anatolian Studies*, 1977, Vol. 27 (1977), pp. 117-126

Published by: British Institute at Ankara

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3642657>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



British Institute at Ankara is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Anatolian Studies*

JSTOR

THE HEROIC AGE OF PHRYGIA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE AND ART¹

By PETER CARRINGTON

The object of this paper is to re-examine the Greek literary traditions concerning a Phrygian migration from Europe to Asia Minor and the early movements of that people within Asia Minor, also allusions to these traditions in local legends and coin-types of the Roman period. Such archaeological and philological evidence as there may be for a migration is not considered: a superficial examination would seem to indicate that neither of these disciplines can yet suggest a clear-cut picture of population movement which we can relate to that presented by the literary evidence, and I am not qualified to take part in the creation of one. Without supporting evidence from either of these disciplines it must be emphasised that the historicity of the events recorded in the traditions must remain open to doubt. The discussion that follows is concerned with the development of the traditions, especially that which we shall call the "Anatolian tradition", as purely literary constructions, not as historical accounts.²

The Testimonies (cf. map, Pl. XXIIIa)

The earliest notices we have of the Phrygian migration are those of Herodotus and Xanthus of Lydia. As an aside on the Phrygians, whom he names among the contingents of Xerxes' army, Herodotus tells us that, according to the Macedonian account, they were called Briges when they lived in Macedonia and changed their name when they migrated (VII, 73). He mentions Brygi elsewhere as a Thracian tribe in existence at the time of the expeditions of Darius (VI, 45) and Xerxes (VII, 185) against Greece. The historian also placed the "Gardens of Midas", where the Silen was said to have been captured, at the foot of Mount Bermion in western Macedonia (VIII, 138), although according to Xenophon (*Anab.* 1, 12, 13) and Pausanias (1, 4, 5), the Silen was captured after drinking wine mixed with water from the "Spring of Midas", located, according to the former writer, near Thymbrium in southern Phrygia. Herodotus' information

¹ This paper is based on part of the second chapter of my thesis "The Distribution and History of Elements of the Native Culture of Roman Phrygia" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1976). I am grateful to Messrs. A. S. Hall and E. W. Gray for their criticisms of the thesis and to Mr. Hall and Professor Gurney for their comments on this paper. I am also grateful to Professor Gurney for helping to clarify my thoughts about Scamandrius. Responsibility for all mistakes of fact or opinion remains with the author.

² I survey the archaeological and philological evidence in my thesis, 23–7 and footnotes. The major relevant studies seem to be: K. Bittel, "Kleinasiatische Studien", *Ist. Mitt.* V (1941) 66 ff., 88 ff.; J. Bouzek, "Bronze Age Greece and the Balkans: Problems of Migrations", *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean*, ed. R. A. Crossland and A. Birchall (London, 1973), 172; M. Garašanin, "Ethnographic Problems of the Bronze Age in the Central Balkan Peninsula and Neighbouring Regions", *ibid.*, 121; N. K. Sandars, "From Bronze Age to Iron Age: a Sequel to a Sequel", *The European Community in Later Prehistory: Studies in Honour of C. F. C. Hawkes*, ed. J. Boardman, M. A. Brown, T. G. E. Powell, (London, 1971), 17 ff.; F. Schachermeyer, "Materialien zur Geschichte der ägäischen Wanderung", *Ath. Mitt.* XLI (1916), 401, 424 ff., and on the linguistic evidence: R. A. Crossland, "The Position in the Indo-European Language-Family of Thracian and Phrygian and their Possible Close Cognates: some General Observations", *Studia Balcanica V: L'Ethnogenèse des Peuples Balkaniques* (Sophia, 1971), 225–36; O. Haas, *Die Phrygischen Sprachdenkmäler* (Sophia, 1966); N. Jokl, "Phryger" *RLV* X (1927–1928), 141 ff.; P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1895), 183 f.; 200 f. There is, as yet at least, no first-hand evidence of what the Phrygians themselves thought about their origins.

about the original name of the Phrygians and their situation (which we may perhaps infer) near Mount Bermion was repeated by Strabo (VII, frag. 25; see also VII, 3, 2, C295 and XII, 3, 20, C550). In another fragmentary passage (VII, frag. 38), Strabo also records that Paeonia was the European homeland of the Phrygians and, conversely, that the Paeonians themselves were said to be Phrygian colonists. The second account may belong to the same tradition as one mentioned by Herodotus (V, 13), who says that the Paeonians claimed to be Teucric settlers from Troy. Elsewhere, Strabo simply calls the Phrygians Thracian colonists.³ Herodotus' information about the Briges is also cited by Stephanus of Byzantium, who lists the presumably cognate Macedonian place-names Brygias, Brygion and the Thracian ethnics Brykes, Brykai, Brykeis and Brykeoi. Under Bryx he says that they are a Macedonian tribe close to Illyria.⁴ On the other hand, Xanthus of Lydia, cited by Strabo (XIV, 5, 29, C680; *FGrHist* 3C, no. 765, frag. 14), stated that the Phrygians came from Europe and the left hand (i.e., western) side of the Black Sea.

That the Phrygians crossed to Asia before the Trojan War is apparently implied by the fact that they are mentioned in the *Iliad*. A pre-Trojan War migration was accepted on this evidence by Strabo (XII, 8, 4, C572). The epic itself contains no mention of the migration. However, Strabo also cites Xanthus' opinion that the migration occurred after the war. There are seven references to Phrygia and the Phrygians in the *Iliad*. In II, 862 f., near the end of the catalogue of the Trojan allies, the poet lists the Phrygians, who came from Ascania under the leadership of Phorcys and Ascanius. In III, 184 ff., Priam tells Helen of the time when he went to fight with the Phrygians, led by Otreus and Mygdon, against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarius. In XVI, 714 ff., we hear of Asius, uncle of Hector, who lived in Phrygia by the Sangarius. In XXIV, 543 ff. we learn that the dominions of Priam were once bounded to the north by Phrygia. In XVIII, 288 ff., many of the treasures of Troy are said to have been lost to Phrygia and Maeonia "when Zeus was angry". No useful information is added by the remainder of the references (III, 401; X, 431).

There are other traditions concerning migrations from Europe to Asia Minor of which we must take account. The Mysian heroes appear among the Trojan allies, coming from Ascania. Homer also apparently mentions other Mysians on the European coast of the Black Sea and it was from among these, assumed to be identical with the later Moesians, that some Hellenistic scholars inferred that the Asian Mysians had come. Strabo (VII, 3, 2, C295) cites Posidonius for the view that Homer did intend to refer to European Mysians, and in XII, 8, 1, C571 cites Artemidorus' statement that the Mysians came from beyond the Danube.⁵ However, Strabo also cites Xanthus (XII, 8, 3, C572) for the opinion that the Mysians were a mixed Lydo-Phrygian people who derived their name, not from the European Mysians or Moesians, but from the Lydian name for the oxya tree. There are five references to the Mysians in the *Iliad*. The European Mysians appear in XIII, 4 ff. In II, 858, the Asian Mysians occur in the list of Trojan allies, led by Chromis and Eunomus. In XIII, 792 ff., Palmys, Morys and Ascanius, the sons of Hippotion, are said to come from Ascania. According to Strabo (XII, 4, 5, C565), these heroes were all Mysians. The deaths of Morys

³ X, 3, 16, C471.

⁴ βρύκης και βρύκαι· ἔθνος θράκης. λέγονται και βρυκεῖς και βρυκήσιοι. βρύς· τὸ ἔθνος, και βρύγαι. τοῦ βρύς τὸ θηλυκὸν βρυγίς και βρυγίς ὡς Καδυμῆς. εἰσι δὲ Μακεδονικὸν ἔθνος προσεχὲς Ἰλλυριοῖς.

⁵ See also Strabo VII, 3, 10, C303; XII, 3, 3, C542.

and Hippotion, together with that of Hyrtius, another Mysian lord, are recorded in XIV, 511 ff. In XXIV, 277ff. mules given by the Mysians are said to draw the wagon containing the ransom for Hector's body. The presence of Dardanus in the Trojan genealogies and of a group of Dardani led by Aeneas in the *Iliad* (II, 819) suggests that the Dardani, who would have been the northern neighbours of the "Paeonian" Phrygians, also migrated, although this is not stated by an ancient author.⁶

After the Trojan War numerous migrations are recorded from Europe to Asia Minor and also movements within Asia Minor. According to Xanthus it was then that the Phrygians migrated from Europe to Asia and that Scamandrius led them from Ascania. Strabo has a whole list of movements: the Propontic coast, including the later Bithynia, was first occupied by Bebrykes and Dryopes. The Mysians then occupied Bithynia, the Arganthonius peninsula and the land around Mount Olympus, but were driven from this latter area to the headwaters of the Caicus by the Phrygians, who had just killed a king of Troy. The Phrygians also occupied the land around Cyzicus. Other Mysians who had lived in Teuthrania moved to the plain of Thebe.⁷ Strabo suggested that the Bebrykes, Mygdones, Bithynians, Maidobithynians, Mariandyni and Caucones were all Thracian, but reported that the last-named tribe was also said to be Pelasgian, while the Hellenistic scholar Apollodorus conjectured that the Bebrykes were Phrygians.⁸ In Thrace, the Mygdones would have been the southern neighbours of the "Paeonian" Phrygians. The appearance of Mygdon, presumably the eponymous leader of this tribe, as a Phrygian leader in the *Iliad* may suggest that the Mygdones were thought of as a sub-group of Phrygians, as were the Doliones, neighbours of the Mygdones, in Homeric times, according to Apollodorus.⁹ Later, Abydus was occupied by Thracians. There were Edonians at Antandrus before the Cimmerian invasion. At the time of that invasion the Treri, another Thracian people, migrated to Asia Minor, as did, according to Arrian, the Bithynians. According to Herodotus the Bithynians called themselves Strymonians.¹⁰

Discussion

There seem to be two traditions concerning the supposed Phrygian migration, each focussing on different aspects. One is the "Macedonian" tradition, first recorded by Herodotus. This may have preserved a partially genuine memory of the migration among the peoples who were once neighbours of the Phrygians. In the course of time what was at first possibly a simple folk-memory became embroidered with details such as the "Gardens of Midas" and the capture of the Silen. This Midas was doubtless a legendary figure who grew out of the fame

⁶ On these genealogies see in brief H. J. Rose, "Dardanus", *OCD*², 313. A relationship with the European Dardanians was suggested by P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 185.

⁷ Strabo XII, 3, 3, C541; XIII, 1, 8, C586; XII, 8, 3, C572.

⁸ VII, 3, 2, C295; XII, 3, 5, C542. Apollodorus: cited in XIV, 5, 23, C542.

⁹ XIV, 5, 23, C542.

¹⁰ Abydus: Strabo XIII, 1, 22, C591

Antandrus: Steph. Byz. s. v.

Treri: Strabo XIII, 1, 8, C586.

Bithynians: Arrian, *FGrHist.* 2B, no. 864, frag. 60; Herodotus VII, 75. From the Thracian name Asti Kretschmer, *Einleitung* 211, inferred that Astacus on the Propontis was one of their foundations.

surrounding the historical ruler of the Phrygian state in Asia Minor, and, so far as the tales involving him belong anywhere, they belong in Asia Minor. No doubt they were transplanted to Macedonia to add to the glory of the tribe's supposed homeland. A more sceptical view would be that the tradition of a Phrygian migration from there to Asia Minor was invented (by Greek colonists in the cities of the north Aegean coast?) to explain the observed similarity between the names Phryges and Briges. The claim of the Paeonians to be Teucrican settlers from Troy, itself almost certainly a fiction intended to link a barbarous people on the edge of the Aegean world with one of its fabled centres, may be an elaboration of the confused tradition of a Phrygian-Paeonian or Paeonian-Phrygian migration. The detail that Herodotus gives on the migration is comparable to what he supplies, for example, on Thracian religion, and is probably a reflection of growing Greek interest in the coastlands of the north Aegean. The other tradition is the Anatolian one, and in its creation or recording Xanthus of Lydia probably had an important role. Its starting point is the *Iliad* and its concern is the folk-movements in Asia Minor after the Trojan War. It seems to have been this "heroic age" with which Xanthus was particularly concerned in his *Lydiaca*.¹¹

According to Strabo, Xanthus related that it was after the Trojan War that the Phrygians came from Europe and the left hand side of the Black Sea and that Scamandrius led them from the Berecynthes and Ascania. To deal with a problem concerning the account of the migration first: Xanthus' unique statement of a Black Sea origin for the Phrygians is reminiscent of the origin inferred by other writers for the Mysians. In so far as Xanthus makes the Mysians a mixed Lydo-Phrygian people, their origin according to him is not very different in fact from that suggested by the other writers, but they are brought under the umbrella of the Phrygian migration, the similarity of their name with that of the lower Danubian people (?) attested in the *Iliad* being ignored and a far less plausible origin for it being concocted. Returning to Asia Minor, it is natural for us to assume, as did Apollodorus, that the Ascania referred to by Xanthus was the one mentioned by Homer. Like Strabo, it is again natural for us to associate the Homeric Ascania with the lake of the same name near Nicaea, although the geographer goes into the refinement of dividing the district into two, a Mysian Ascania nearer to Troy and a Phrygian, further away.¹² However Strabo, criticising Apollodorus, assumes that Xanthus' Ascania was different from Homer's and was to be placed in Europe, in the belief that what Xanthus had described was the primary migration from Europe to Asia. In fact, it seems more likely that when Xanthus says that Scamandrius led the Phrygians from the Berecynthes and Ascania, he is referring to a secondary migration within Asia Minor. It is also possible that Xanthus wished to say that it was the secondary migration into the Troad that took place after the Trojan War, not the primary one from Europe to Asia. Without Xanthus' text in front of us certainty is impossible. E. Meyer made the attractive conjecture that Strabo's statement that the Phrygians killed a king of Troy and drove the Mysians southwards from Mount Olympus (made during his list of events after the Trojan War) was taken from Xanthus.¹³ It certainly tallies well with Xanthus' statement

¹¹ On Xanthus see R. Drews, *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 100–3.

¹² XII, 4, 5, C564–5; XII, 4, 8, C566.

¹³ E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart–Berlin, 1918), II, 2, 568.

about a migration from Ascania which took place after the Trojan War. Now Scamandrius, the name of the Phrygian leader in Xanthus, was said by Homer (*Iliad* VI, 402) to be another name for Astyanax, the son of Hector. Either the tradition adopted Scamandrius from the *Iliad* as a name for a Phrygian leader or Scamandrius was the name of a Phrygian leader who was equated with Astyanax, either by the Phrygians themselves or by the poet. In any case, this intermingling of leaderships may have been a reflection in legend of a Phrygian conquest of Troy. In the first two cases the conquerors would be taking on themselves the greater prestige of the defeated royal house. In the third, the poet would be borrowing not only the tradition of a conquest (alluded to in *Iliad* XVIII, 288 ff.) but also the name of one of the supposed leaders of the conquerors.

We have further testimonies which form part of or develop this "Anatolian tradition". The mainstream of the ancient literary tradition was naturally concerned with political events in Greece after the end of the Trojan War; Troy had fallen and could be forgotten. However, there were tales about Trojan heroes who survived the fall of the city, culminating, of course, in the foundation-epic of the Roman Empire, Virgil's *Aeneid*. In north western Asia Minor, we may imagine that the tales centred more on the continued occupation of local sites than on a diaspora. In *Iliad* XX, 300 ff., we are told that Aeneas will survive the fall of Troy and that his descendants will rule the city. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1, 54, 2), Aeneas preserved Ilium from destruction at the time of its capture and left Ascanius (now his son) king of Phrygia. Strabo (XIII, 1, 52–3, C607–8) relates that Scepsis was said to have been refounded by Scamandrius the son of Hector and Ascanius the son of Aeneas and that Demetrius of Scepsis thought that the palace of Aeneas was situated in the city. In the major Greek poets the death of Astyanax envisaged by his mother in the *Iliad* (XXII, 499–507; XXIV, 734–6) became a reality,¹⁴ but in Abas' *Troica* he became king, was deposed by Antenor (who was also popularly supposed to have survived the sack of the city) and re-established by Aeneas.¹⁵ The major tradition was completely contradicted by Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* XI, 124), who said that the Trojans won the war and that Priam was succeeded by Hector and he in turn by Astyanax. In the more extravagant of these claims of survival, as, for example, in that of the citizens of Ilium that their city had never been deserted, there was, as Strabo recognised (XIII, 1, 42, C602–3), a considerable element of local pride. The appearance of Ascanius (whom I suppose to be ultimately identical with the Phrygian leader of the *Iliad*) in Vergil, *Aeneid* II, Dionysius and Strabo as the son of Aeneas closely parallels that of Scamandrius as a Phrygian leader in Xanthus and as identical with Astyanax the son of Hector in the *Iliad*, and may well have reflected the same thing: a Phrygian conquest of Troy. Again, the hint in the *Iliad* about the succession of the family of Aeneas may be related to the tradition known to Dionysius, Strabo and Vergil.

Traditions of migration and the ethnography of the Persian period

If we consider the movements of Mysians and Phrygians in the Propontic area described by Xanthus, together with some of the details added by Strabo, it

¹⁴ Lesches cited by Pausanias X, 25; Stesichorus cited in schol. Eur. *Andromache*, 10; Eur. *Andromache* 9–11, 224–5; *Trojan Women* 708–20; 777–80; 1133–1202.

¹⁵ Abas cited by Servius, ad *Aeneidem* IX, 264.

is remarkable how well they correspond with what is known of the local ethnography of the Persian period. From Herodotus (III, 90) we learn that the southern shore of the Hellespont, Phrygia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, the Mariandyni and Cappadocia were in the third satrapy, while Mysia, Lydia, Maeonia and Cabalis were in the second. The *Periplus* falsely attributed to Scylax, written in the fourth century B.C., in one passage (96) includes the whole coastline from Cius to Antandrus in Phrygia. Elsewhere in this passage the coast is subdivided, the stretch from Abydus to Hamaxitus being assigned to the Troad and that from Hamaxitus to Antandrus to Aeolis. To the north-east Cius marked the boundary with Mysia, part of which must have existed in virtual isolation, sandwiched between Phrygia and Bithynia (which was at that time confined to the land north of the gulf of Olbia) and comprising the peninsula of Arganthonius. These divisions reflect "popular geography" rather than administration, for the whole stretch fell within one satrapy. On the other hand the extent of the Troad was hotly disputed by writers from the Persian period onwards. From the existence of the dispute we may perhaps infer that the Troad was no more than an artificial, scholarly creation based on Homeric sentiment.¹⁶ Antandrus may have represented the limit of Phrygia *qua* last city of the Hellespontine satrapy.

The survival of Mysians both in the mountainous Arganthonius peninsula and south-westwards of Mt. Olympus towards the head-waters of the Caicus (i.e. in Abbrete and Abbaeitis in late Hellenistic times) corresponds well with the general implication of the ancient testimonies that they were forced inland by other migrants.¹⁷ The denomination of the Propontic coastland west of Cius as "Phrygian" matches the supposed Phrygian occupation of the land around Cyzicus and the earlier Bebrykian (i.e. Phrygian: Apollodorus) settlement, while the extension of the name "Phrygia" over the whole of the Troad could reflect the tradition of a Phrygian conquest of that area or its inclusion in the same satrapy as Propontic Phrygia. In favour of the latter view is the fact that, once the Persian satrapies had passed into history, the practice of including the coastline down to Antandrus in Phrygia ceased, whereas the Propontic coastline, where Phrygian settlement, as opposed to conquest, is attested, continued to be so included.¹⁸

The major outstanding question is whether the stories about the Phrygian settlement of the Propontic coastlands and the conquest of Troy are based on a semi-historical folk memory of the migration period or are an artificial creation designed, perhaps, to explain a given ethnographic situation. The latter is perhaps partly true of the surviving literary version, but this was quite possibly based on old folk-tales, themselves combining genuine memory, embroidery and sheer invention in unknown proportions.

¹⁶ See the discussion in Strabo XIII, 1, 1 C581 ff. both for ancient views and for the fascination of the subject. He comments: ἥς (τῆς Τρωάδος) τὸ πολυθύλητον - - ὅμως πολυλογίαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν παρέχει τῇ γραφῇ. See also XII, 4, 6, C565.

¹⁷ On the Mysian Abbeitae see the inscriptions Le Bas-Waddington III, no. 1001 and *CIL* XIV, 2213 (*IG* XIV, 1121; *OGIS* 445) and the coins discussed by F. Imhoof-Blumer, "Die Prägorte der Abbaiter, Epikteter, Grimenothyriten und Temenothyriten", *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* (Wien, 1898), 201 ff. On Abbrete see Strabo XII, 8, 9, C574-5.

¹⁸ For example, in Dionysius Periegetes 809 f. (probably based on Eratosthenes), where the coastline from Cius to the Hellespont is included in Lesser Phrygia and in schol. in Ap. Rhod. *Argonautica* I, 1115 and 1165, where the coast from Aesepus to the Rhyndacus is allotted to Phrygia.

Coin types of Otrous and Stectorium (cf. Pl. XXIIIb)

By the Roman imperial period, scientific historical writing had been practised for over half a millennium in the Classical world, and the later history of the cities of Phrygia (along with the rest of Asia Minor)—native, Hellenistic and Roman foundations—would in many cases be well documented. Nevertheless, the legends about the heroic age following the fall of Troy continued to be important, not as virtually the only information for a history of the period, to be used critically as Homeric material was by Thucydides *par excellence*, but as providing a respectable pedigree for cities engaged in constant battles with their neighbours for prestige. Homeric origins were sought by half-Greek cities founded in the Hellenistic period so that they could lay claim to a decent antiquity.¹⁹ The same origins, when claimed by purely native cities, served to demonstrate not only their antiquity but also their links with the heart of Greek culture.

The Phrygian hero Otreus was regarded by the ancients as the legendary founder of Otroua in southern Bithynia (earlier Hellespontine Phrygia) (Strabo XII, 4, 7, C566). His name can also be linked with that of Otrous in the Eucarpitic plain. B. V. Head recognised the figure of a warrior depicted on coins of the time of Geta, naked but for a *chlamys* and armed with a spear, stepping onto the prow of a ship, as Otreus. However, Babelon, followed by Regling, named this figure Aeneas.²⁰ Aeneas is depicted on other coins of Otrous making his escape from Troy together with Anchises and Ascanius (the latter regarded as Aeneas' son, as in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Vergil).²¹ On coins of the neighbouring city of Stectorium Regling identified two representations of Hector with helmet and cuirass, once, like the figure on the coin from Otrous, with a foot on the prow of a ship, but this time with a torch in his hand, in the other type, in a chariot. Both types appear at Ilium, where the legend on the coins explicitly identifies the figure as Hector.²² According to Pausanias (X, 27, 1), a tumulus near Stectorium was said by the local inhabitants to be the tomb of Mygdon. A standing armed figure on a coin of Stectorium was named Mygdon by Head.²³ Regling raised the possibility that this figure might again be Hector or even Ares.²⁴

¹⁹ The cities are Dorylaeum, Synnada and Metropolis. Synnada was in origin a native city but received Greek settlers during the Hellenistic period. The name of Metropolis is Greek, but may also indicate the strength of the native element in the population. The origin of Dorylaeum is uncertain; I argue in my thesis that it is Hellenistic. All three claimed as founder Acamas, the son of Theseus, who sailed from Euboea to join the Trojan War, and was thus a good model for Greek settlers of the Hellenistic period. The lack of any link with the Hellenistic dynasties and the possible presence of a strong native element in their populations may have made the claims to antiquity of these cities seem plausible. The topic is discussed in detail in my thesis, 60–2. I hope to publish a note on it in the near future.

²⁰ *B.M. Cat. Greek Coins of Phrygia* (hereafter *B. M. Cat.*), 345, nos. 12–13 and pl. XL, 6. Cf. F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen I*, 290, note on no. 2; *SNG von Aulock* heft 9, 3905–6. Babelon, *Inv. Wadd.*, 6369 and 6371; K. Regling, “Hektor auf Münzen von Stektorion”, *Klio VIII* (1908), 489 ff.

²¹ *B. M. Cat.*, 345, no. 14 and pl. XL, 7 (Geta); *Inv. Wadd.* 6368 (Caracalla).

²² Regling, art. cit. In *Kleinasiatische Münzen I*, 290, no. 2 and *SNG Danish National Museum, Phrygia*, 692 (both from the reign of Philip I) the figure boarding the ship is called Mygdon. In *Inv. Wadd.* 6505 the figure in the chariot is called Ares.

²³ *B. M. Cat.* 385, no. 11 (Severus Alexander); 386, no. 18 and pl. XLV, 4 (Philip Senior and Junior). Cf. *Kleinasiatische Münzen I*, 290, Taf. 17, 16 (Philip) and *SNG Danish National Museum, Phrygia*, 691 (Severus Alexander).

²⁴ Regling, art. cit.

Because of its name alone, one would expect to find Otreus honoured at Otrous, and the more so as his Homeric companion Mygdon is known to have been honoured at Stectorium. It is tempting, therefore, to accept Head's identification of the naked figure on the coins of Otrous as Otreus. The fact that the figure is naked may indicate that a semi-divine founding hero is being represented, while on other coins of the city Aeneas is shown in full armour. On the other hand, it may be objected that the scene suggests that Otreus took part in the Trojan War, which is, in fact, not stated by Homer. If the identifications of Otreus and Mygdon on these coins are accepted, the following sequence emerges:

Otrous—Otreus (Geta); Aeneas fleeing from Troy (Geta). Thereafter the coinage apparently ceases; the latest types carry the head of Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla.

Stectorium—Mygdon (Severus Alexander; Philip Senior and Junior); Hector (Philip Senior).

It would be natural for Otrous, because of the connotations of its name, to mint these types first, with Stectorium later producing others and adopting Otreus' companion Mygdon in rivalry. However, the testimony of Pausanias concerning the existence of the tomb of Mygdon near Stectorium indicates that the dating of the adoption of these heroes by the cities of the Eucarpitic plain suggested by the coinage is too late. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that no independent

KEY TO COINS ILLUSTRATED IN PLATE XXIII*b* (from left to right).

B. M. Cat. 345, no. 12, pl. XL, 6: obv. bust of Geta Caesar r. ΠΟ · CEIT ΓETACKAI ; rev. warrior naked but for chlamys, embarking on prow of ship l., r. arm raised and head turned back; spear in l.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝ ΔΡ ΟCOTPOHΩ
ACIAP N (in field)
X · AN (in field)
ΕΘ

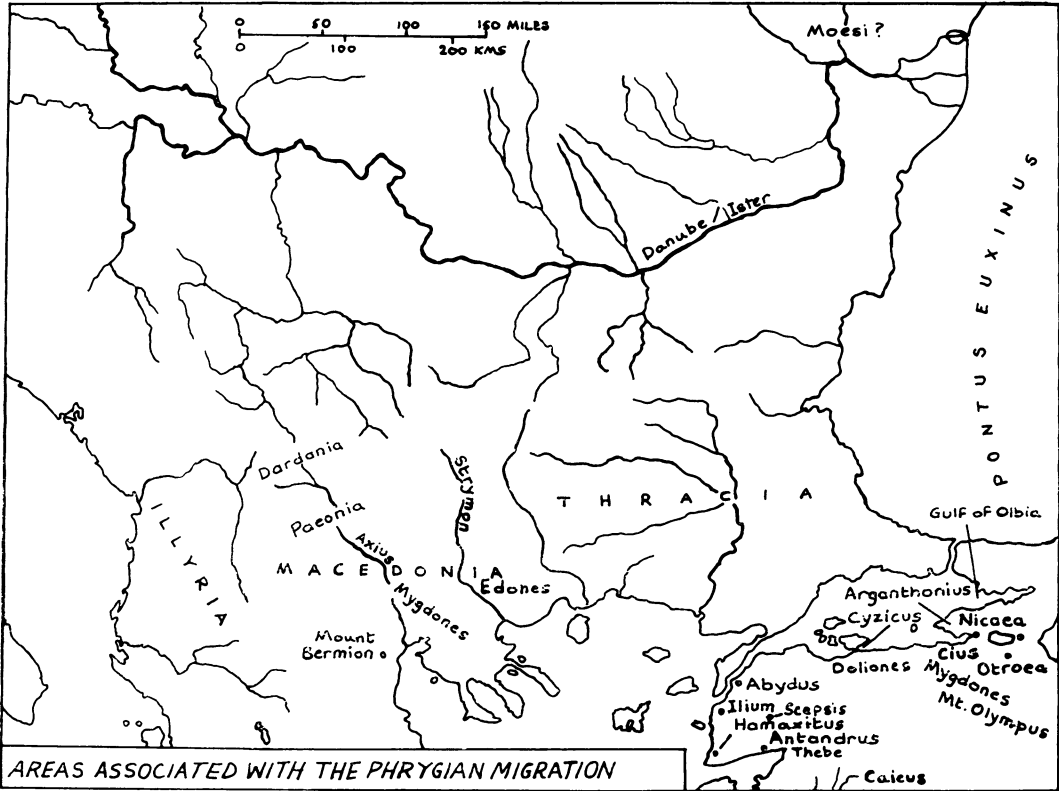
B. M. Cat. 345, no. 14, pl. XL, 7: obv. bust of Geta Caesar r. ΠΟ · CEIT ΓETACKAI ; rev. Aeneas in helmet, cuirass and chlamys, with sword at belt, retreating right and looking back; with his r. hand he leads the young Ascanius in Phrygian dress and cap; on his l. arm he carries Anchises sitting, wearing Phrygian cap and himation and carrying a shrine on his knees.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ ΟΤΡΟΗΝ
OC ΩNAN (in field)
ΕΘ
[ACIAPX?] (in exergue)

B. M. Cat. 385, no. 11; obv. bust of Severus Alexander r. AVT·K·M·AV ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡOC ; rev. Mygdon (?) in helmet and cuirass, standing towards r., resting with r. on spear and with l. on shield placed on ground before him. CTEKTO PHΩN

B. M. Cat., 386, no. 18, pl. XLV, 4: obv. busts, face to face, of Philip Senior r. and of Philip Junior l., ΑΥΤΚΜ | ΙΟΥΛ | ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΙ | CEBB ; rev. Mygdon (?), armed with helmet and cuirass, standing towards l., resting with r. on spear and with l. on shield placed on ground before him. ΕΠΑΥΔΗ·Η ΠΙΟΥ ACIAPX·K·ΗCΠΑΤΡΙ Δ ; in inner circle CT EKTOPH ΩN

(Photographs from casts kindly supplied by the British Museum, Dept. of Coins and Medals).



(a) Sketch Map.



(b) Coins of Otrous and Spectorium.

link between Mygdon and Stectorium is known, the relative chronology suggested by the coins, i.e. the appearance of Homeric legends first at Otrous and then, in imitation, at Stectorium, remains the most plausible.

Sir William Ramsay suggested that the type depicting Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Ascanius recalled a migration from Otrouea, near L. Ascania, to Otrous.²⁵ This is surely only possible if the type was regarded as symbolizing almost any migration. Rather, the type must first have alluded to the fall of Troy, and possibly Aeneas' escape from it as recounted in *Aeneid* II. In a Phrygian context the important figure may have been Ascanius, who, according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, was left by Aeneas as king of Phrygia.

Regling suggested that the Greek settlers in Phrygia from the Hellenistic period onwards adopted the Phrygian heroes known from the *Iliad* as their own. In fact, I suggest that what the coin-types just discussed reflect is the more complicated process of the attempt of two *native* cities to demonstrate that they were part of the Greek world by attaching to themselves parts of the story of the *Iliad*. Given their location and possible Phrygian origin, it was inevitable that the heroes with whom they tried to associate themselves should be Phrygian or Trojan rather than Greek. However, the choice of hero was probably less important than the display of hellenization constituted by the demonstration of knowledge of and association with parts of the *Iliad*, the foundation of Greek literary culture. At the one known wholly Greek foundation in the plain, Eucarpia itself, which probably started life as a Hellenistic military colony, no "Homeric Phrygian" coin types are to be found.²⁶

It may be that we can go a little further in specifying the motives for issuing these coin types, at least at Otrous. They were issued by a certain Alexander, an asiarch. An inscription ascribed to Otrous honours "Alexander the Macedonian, founder of the city."²⁷ Ramsay, in his edition of the inscriptions, conjectured that this Alexander was the same as the one who had the coins issued and explained the epithet "Macedonian" as indicating that he was the descendant of a Macedonian colonist. Cagnat, on the other hand (*IGR* IV, 692, note), taking the title "founder" literally rather than as a purely honorific one, preferred to see a reference to Alexander the Great. If Otrous was indeed founded by Alexander (in the sense of a military colony being established in an existing native town, as happened, for example, at Peltae and Synnada), it is remarkable that this inscription should be the only record of an event of which the city could be expected to be extremely proud. Coin-legends reading "of the Macedonian Otroueni" or the like, for instance, are entirely absent. Ramsay's explanation seems more likely to be correct, although the same lack of evidence suggests that Alexander's Macedonian ancestors were not settled at Otrous itself, but elsewhere in the district. There are, of course, parallels for applying the title "founder," to the benefactor of a city, and we have already noted that other descendants of Hellenistic colonists are attested at Eucarpia.

If we assume for the moment that the Alexander mentioned in the inscription is identical with that on the coins, it is possible that he issued coins with types alluding to the mythical origins of the city to return the compliment of "founder" paid to him in the inscription. In the same way at Dorylaeum, a

²⁵ W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford, 1895) 1, 2, 688. Cf. Head in *B. M. Cat.*, lxxxvii.

²⁶ See W. M. Calder, "A Hellenistic Survival at Eucarpia", *AS* VI (1956), 49 ff.

²⁷ *BCH* XVII (1893), 277 (*CB* I, 2, 702, n. 638; *IGR* IV, 692).

dedication by a certain Stratonicianus Timaeus honouring “Dorylaus the Eretrian, the founder” may have been made to thank the city for the honours paid to Aelius Stratonicus, possibly a relative, which included comparing him with Dorylaus.²⁸ However, given the uncertainty of the identification that we have made, and indeed the uncertainty as to whether the Alexander-inscription even comes from Otrous, this explanation can rank no higher than a conjecture for the moment.²⁹

²⁸ The essential inscriptions are: *Ath. Mitt.* XX (1895), 16 (*GGA* CLIX, 2 (1897), 399; Radet, *En Phrygie* (Paris, 1895), no. IV; *IGR* IV, 527); Radet, op. cit., no. III. I discuss the question at length in my thesis, 60–2.

²⁹ Even the site of Otrous is not firmly fixed. The possibilities are considered by M. H. Ballance, “A Re-Assessment of the Archaeology of Central Asia Minor from Alexander the Great to the Turkish Conquest” (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1961), 81–2.